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THE REAL OPPORTUNITY OF THE SO-CALLED ANGLO-SAXON RACE.¹

IN these days of "expansion," "imperialism," and "benevolent assimilation," we hear much of the alleged opportunity and duty of the so-called Anglo-Saxon, or Anglo-Saxo-American race. To anyone who has outgrown the naïve philological method of classifying races along linguistic lines, the term Anglo-Saxon, or Anglo-American race, is a misnomer. It is, frankly, adopted in the title of this paper in order to conform to everyday usage, and perhaps thereby to attract the general reader who would be less edified by the term Nordic, North European, or by the still more technical jargon of the anthropologists. Suffice it to say just at this point, that the Anglo-Saxons are not distinguishable racially from the Scandinavians, Hollanders, and North Germans, and that all of these peoples and their offshoots in other parts of the world belong mainly to the Nordic or North European race. "Anglo-Saxon superiority," "Anglo-Saxon expansion," "Anglo-Saxon opportunity," are merely short-cuts for the superiority, expansion, opportunity of the Nordic race as a whole, including also those elements in central, and, in slighter degree, southern Europe, which represent historic and perhaps prehistoric southward migrations or expansions of the North European stock.

Many social teachers and prophets would have this Nordic

¹ This paper is intended merely as a dogmatic and impressionistic statement of some of the practical bearings of recent investigations in anthropo-sociology, or sociology as studied primarily from the point of view of the quality of population constituting the various social groups. To add the finer shadings in the way of qualifications and cautions would extend the scale of treatment beyond the limits of the present sketch. Meanwhile, to work out the practical conclusions which seem to follow from data admittedly in need of further confirmation, may show that these data are not of such merely academic interest as some critics suggest, and may, perhaps, tend to promote investigation along similar lines more adequate than is within the resources of the pioneer workers.

race conceive its opportunity and duty after a broadly philanthropic fashion that recalls the famous Mrs. Jellaby. Thus one social philosopher, for example, holds that no country has a moral right to bar its territory against any intending immigrant.¹ Thus another theorist thinks the United States is making a mistake in protecting its own citizens and their standard of living against further Chinese immigration, because we are thereby prejudicing the land of the dragon against the spread of our ideas among its home population, and another writer maintains, in a similar vein, that we should have kept the door wide open because, forsooth, "if ten or twenty million Chinese should settle in America and adopt English as their mother tongue, Anglo-Saxon culture would thereby gain more adherents.² . . . In short the infiltration of inferior races is not an evil, but a benefit.³

Indeed, some writers have worked themselves around to the idea that there are no inferior races, because race differences are themselves ultimately the result of environmental selection. Thus we are told that "by modern research . . . greater emphasis has been placed on environment as a factor in ethnic development, and . . . 'the vulgar theory of race' has been relegated to the limbo of exploded dogmas."⁴

Another tendency toward the ignorlng of racial differences is the habit of considering the whole human problem from the ultra-telescopic point of view. For practical human purposes

¹G. W. CABLE in a paper read at Harvard University.

²Une autre erreur capitale des sociétés consiste à se préparer des réserves pour l'avenir. Ainsi les Américains ne permettent pas l'immigration des Chinois. Ils disent qu'il y a plus d'avantages à laisser les régions du Pacifique et du Far-West à l'état de solitudes pendant de longues années qu'à les peupler de Célestes, parce qu'elles serviront aux besoins des générations futures. Cette conduite est des plus désastreuses, pour plusieurs raisons. D'abord l'expansion nationale ne se fait pas seulement par le peuplement mais par l'assimilation. Si dix ou vingt millions de Chinois vont en Amérique et adoptent l'anglais comme langue maternelle, la culture Anglo-Saxonne aura un nombre d'adhérents plus considerable.—NOVICOW, *Les luttes entre sociétés humaines*, p. 561.

³NOVICOW, *L'Avenir de la race blanche*, p. 164.

⁴C. W. CHESTNUTT: "The Future American," *Boston Transcript*, August 18, 1900.

differences in the earth's surface are of importance; for agricultural pursuits the alkali desert is inferior to the fertile plain; for the railway builder the existence of mountain ranges and the location of practicable passes are hardly negligible factors. Yet, viewed from a sufficient distance in space, these geographical differences would be imperceptible. So when we are assured by a recent writer that present ethnic differences appear small and insignificant compared with the fundamental similarity of men,¹ we may answer that the point of view is one of somewhat too magnificent distance to be applicable to the question of the desirability of the increase of the better rather than of the poorer of the present human races. The insignificant appearance of the Alps upon the surface of the earth, as viewed from the planet Mars, would have been no argument against the construction of the St. Gothard tunnel. One might carry the point of view even a stage further off, and argue that as man is fundamentally an organic being, human interests are of no more moment than those of the other creatures. The Hindus arrive at the same result by a somewhat different process of reasoning, and establish expensive hospitals for cats while thousands of their neighbors are dying from famine.

All the above views, and many more of a similar sort, echo with something of the false, or at least misleading, ring of the unscientific political philosophy of the tail end of the eighteenth century. They represent an extension of *égalité* to all peoples and races, the *reductio ad absurdum* of a doctrine already rather absurd, even within the limits of a homogeneous population. They are either altogether pre-Darwinian, or else false applications of the doctrine of selection. It is true that this doctrine implies that the relative position of the different races, due to the past operation

¹ In the development of the human race the ethnic factor is the surface wave, a ripple sweeping over the face of the social deep, causing it to bubble and swirl, and to rise upon its crest—but for a moment only. The fundamental traits of the natural man as he stands today, of whatever genealogy or race, are they not primarily those of the gorilla clothed and become gregarious? These natural traits constitute the continent against which the ethnic waves have been beating and wearing, working imperceptible metamorphoses.—JOHN CUMMINGS: “Ethnic Factors and the Movement of Population.” *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, February 1900, p. 209.

among them of selective forces, might conceivably be altered if the inferior races exclusively should be given the benefit of a systematic selection or of a natural selection consistently favorable. But if the systematic control of selection is ever undertaken by any race, it is likely to be undertaken by, and in the interest of, the race already furthest advanced. It is more likely, therefore, to increase rather than to minimize or reverse the existing differences. For the rest, it may be noted that this ultra-liberalism or indifference as between one's own race and other races tends to be self-eliminative. In so far as it might prevail generally among any race as an actual influence upon conduct, it would tend toward the decrease of that race numerically and toward its economic and military subordination. Particularly is this true in the case of a stock which, like the North European, is exposed to the infiltration and competition of other races that multiply upon a far lower standard of living. Fortunately, the sense of solidarity, "the consciousness of kind" which has been so important a factor in selection between nationalities and linguistic groups, is developing also along racial lines. For to throw the sense of solidarity and the capacity for united action to the winds, and to allow the struggle for existence to hinge simply upon the ability to thrive and propagate upon a low standard of living, and upon economic efficiency in the temporary and limited sense of the capacity of the individual to do the most work for the lowest wage, would probably be to give the victory to the races of lower nervous organization and less capacity for progress. Darwinism does not mean *laissez faire*. The struggle is dependent not alone upon economic, as some writers imply, but also upon social and military efficiency. In these last respects the Nordic race makes up for the disadvantage under which it would otherwise labor from its large physiological requirements for nutrition, shelter, and comfort, its indisposition to propagate on a low standard, and its inability to thrive in the tropics.

In the interest of the reader not familiar with recent anthropological investigations, it is desirable before proceeding further to give a brief summary of the results reached.

The Nordic race is distinguishable both physically and psychologically from the other races of Europe. From the Alpine race of the central and eastern parts of the continent it is physically distinguishable mainly by the prevailing form of the head. The significance that modern anthropologists attach to the head-form, it should be said incidentally, has nothing to do with the ideas of the phrenologist; for the latter the particular conformation of the individual's head is supposed to be directly connected with certain purely personal mental characteristics; for the anthropologist the general form of the head is the means of distinguishing between certain racial elements in the population. The Nordic head is prevailingly long and narrow, or dolichocephalic. The head of the Alpine race is at once broader and shorter, or brachycephalic.

In Spain, Portugal, southern Italy, Corsica, and Sardinia the mass of the population is composed of a third race, the Mediterranean. It is possible that this element has entered in some degree into the blood of the Irish, and the Welsh, but these peoples are mainly of Nordic origin. Otherwise the Mediterranean stock is not noticeably represented north of the Pyrenees and the river Po.

To avoid possible misapprehension, it is well to speak in some detail of pigmentation as a means of distinguishing between the races of Europe. Such misapprehension is likely to arise from the fact that the Nordic race is sometimes called the dolicho-blond, and from the fact that light pigmentation has been in the past, more than at present, a characteristic of that race. Aside from pathological cases, the other races of men, as well as the primates in general, have dark hair and eyes. The remote ancestors of the Nordic race were doubtless dark like the rest of mankind. They were, so to speak, bleached out by a prolonged residence during the prehistoric period in the region of Great Britain and Scandinavia with adjacent and connecting territory now under the ocean. Here the race, in comparative isolation, was subjected to a prolonged process of adaptation to, and natural selection by, a climate moist and dull, without

extreme ranges in temperature, and with only occasional clear sunshine—conditions analogous to those of a San Francisco fog, or of an “Oregon mist.” Such a climate perhaps directly produced, or, at any rate, favored, variation towards that lymphatism and depigmentation that thus came to be characteristic of the race.

The blondness, thus the natural selective product of the prehistoric climate of northwestern Europe, has become with climatic changes and especially with the expansion of the race to drier, clearer, hotter, and more extreme climates, a semi-pathological condition against which nature is protesting by an increase in protective pigmentation not only in the individual from childhood to maturity, but in the prevailing physical type. By this return to the original and once universal pigmentation a new variety of the Nordic race appears to be forming which has lost its blondness and lymphatism, but kept its other characteristics intact. Blondness is of immense value in tracing the history of the Nordic race, for its appearance anywhere points to the presence of this stock. It is of value also in distinguishing between the North Europeans and the Mediterraneans, who are equally dolichocephalic, but dark of hair, eyes, and skin. But within the Nordic populations blondness does not appear to be any longer especially associated with the distinctive mental characteristics of the race.

Stature is also a somewhat unreliable basis for racial distinction, because it is so much influenced by the nutrition and habit of life of the individual. Moreover, stature and pigmentation may both be influenced by sexual selection, as exemplified in prevailing marriage preferences. The form of the head is not open to this last objection, because it is an inconspicuous trait to which people generally pay no attention. It is also independent of the influence of environment and nutrition.

The psychological distinction between these three principal races of Europe, which we shall now proceed to discuss, must not be supposed to hold good in all individual cases. Neither does it mean primarily that the average ability of the Nordic

race is higher than that of the others; although this is probably the case, still the main claim of the Nordic stock to superiority is rather the more frequent presence among it of exceptionally able men, especially of the type capable of becoming the pioneers of human progress and of the type capable of appreciating, elaborating, and carrying forward the work initiated by the pioneers. Neither does it mean necessarily that the superiority is inherently or permanently secured to this race; the happy combination of traits present in the race largely through a fortunate process of selection in the past may be lost by the elimination of its best elements. Something of this sort appears to have already happened to the Mediterraneans, a stock which has "seen better days" than the present, and has certainly played a large part in history, although some of the civilizations with which it has ordinarily been credited, as for example the Classic, were really the work probably of Nordic immigrants. At present, however, the Nordic race is so superior that it is through its extension that mankind is most likely to be improved; and at the same time because of its very open-mindedness and love of progress, it is the only race that is inclined to take advantage of the laws of selection by which race improvement may be effected.

With these qualifications, the races of Europe may be psychologically distinguished as follows: The Alpine race is the peasant type of central and eastern Europe. It is industrious, frugal, receptive, intelligent, but passive. In politics and warfare it tends to follow the leadership of some more masterful element, usually Nordic. The Mediterranean race appears to be at present rather less rich in ability than the Alpine, at least so far as one can judge by the results where the two come into competition in central Italy, but it has a more brilliant past, and may, through expansion by emigration, recover something of its old position. The Nordic race is less uniform and mediocre than the others, presenting a wider range of human ability, with a larger proportion of genius and high talent, and probably a higher average if not of mentality at least of will power and moral force. At its

best, at any rate, its character is more masterful, its courage more impetuous, its judgment clearer, its mental horizon wider. It is pre-eminently the race of progress.

On an anthropological map of Europe, based largely on data collected during the past decade, one can trace various correlations between the extent to which the Nordic stock enters into the population and the state of civilization. The southern frontier of Protestantism, for example, is almost identical with the southern frontier of dolichocephaly, and one may say roughly that Protestantism is the religion of the Nordic race. Again, if one marks upon an outline of the continent the birth places of the greatest intellectual leaders of Europe during, say, the past three centuries, the resulting map of genius will correspond very closely to a map of the density of the Nordic race type. The same is true not only in Europe as a whole, but also in detail in regions where this race comes in competition with the Alpine, as in southern Germany, France, and Switzerland. This is partly because in this region of joint occupation the Nordic type is concentrated in the river valleys, the rich plains, the cities, and in general where the opportunities of life are the richest; but this concentration, which is the result of a process partly military but mainly economic, is again an evidence of the aptitudes of the race.

This superiority is further reflected in the fact that modern expansion has been, in a larger way even than is generally understood, the expansion of the Nordic, dolichocephalic type. Not only Anglo-Saxon emigration in the narrower sense, but the emigration from Scandinavia, Holland, and North Germany represents almost exclusively the expansion of this race. The same thing is only in a degree less true as regards the immense emigration from Ireland (where the Mediterranean element may perhaps have figured) and as regards that from Finland and the Baltic provinces of Russia. Even the emigration from South Germany, France and Switzerland, must have drawn in disproportionate degree from the same energetic and restless element that furnishes the urban immigrants, rather from the home-loving peasant class.

For this reason the white population of the United States is, or has been until very recently, far more homogeneous than is ordinarily supposed. There is a great variety of languages and nationalities represented, but, anthropologically, there is a great preponderance of one race—the Nordic. Accordingly, certain studies intended to show that the proportion of American born, British born, German or Scandinavian born in different states of the Union has little sociological or political significance, have been futile; for the comparison has lain simply between different nationalities of one race.¹

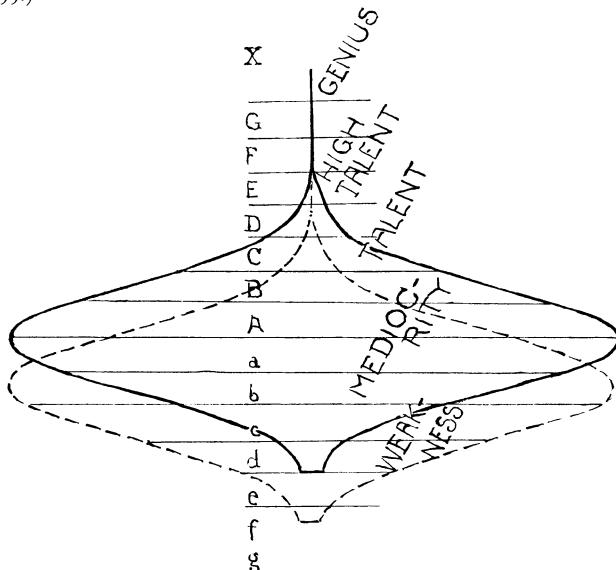
The last fifteen years have seen the first entry into the United States of alien races from the east and south of Europe. If we had received some brachycephalics before, they were mainly the élite of that race, the South Germans. We are now receiving wholesale, far inferior stock, brachycephalic and Mediterranean. Not only is the race stock inferior, but there is no longer, in these days of cheap fares and the omnipresent inducements of the steamboat agents, the natural sifting of the emigrants down to those individuals who possess a considerable degree of courage and enterprise. Instead of the naturally selected individuals of the best stock, we are getting, to amplify a little President

¹ According to Dr. Longstaff (*Studies in Statistics*), the British stock constitutes 70 per cent., the Irish and German each about 12 per cent., and the mixed European some 6 per cent. of our white population. In an able, but, I think, not convincing argument, Mr. C. W. Chestnutt holds that the future American will be a comparatively uniform type, resulting from a general intermixture of the white population of the United States with the negroes, and also with the Spanish and indigenous population of the West Indies and of Mexico in something like the existing proportions. There will, of course, be more or less intermixture, which, as Mr. Chestnutt points out, cannot be prevented by legislation against the legal intermarriage of whites with negroes. But this sort of intermixture will, I think, produce a mere fringe of mixed stock, especially along the geographical lines of contact, rather than the complete fusion of the three races that this author prophesies. Each of the three elements will continue principally in its present habitat, unless the Nordic may perhaps establish itself somewhat extensively in the more habitable part of Mexico.

A word may be said in this connection as to the comparative distribution of different grades of ability among whites and negroes. Galton, classifying ability among Englishmen into some eight equal up-grades from mediocrity to genius, and eight down-grades from mediocrity to idiocy, concluded that the proportion of individuals of each of the several grades of ability—each way from the average—among

Walker's phrase, "the beaten men" of the beaten nationalities "of the beaten races." The successful assimilation and "Americanization," even of the humbler members of the earlier Nordic immigration, is no ground for hoping that our population will not suffer deterioration from a continued instreaming of the inferior brachycephalic and Mediterranean stock.

Such immigrants are almost certain to multiply on a lower standard of life than our own, and to become rapidly a more a million Englishmen would be about that indicated by the heavier of the onion-shaped figures in the following diagram. (For a fuller explanation see "Some Social Applications of the Doctrine of Probability," JOURNAL OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, March 1899.)



Galton seems to regard the negroes as having the same range of ability as the whites, as between the ablest and the least capable, but drops their ability curve as a whole two grades, as compared with the whites; that is, he puts their average, or most frequent ability, on the line between grade b and grade c of the whites, instead of between grades A and a. In the accompanying diagram I have put the negro ability curve, as shown by the dotted line, slightly higher than Galton would place it to make it conform to the conclusion of a sympathetic student, Dr. Spahr ("America's Working People," *The Outlook*), that the most advanced third of the southern negroes has passed the least advanced third of the whites. Galton, of course, was considering the negro race as a whole, whereas the southern negroes have doubtless undergone improvement.

and more numerous element in our population. In New England the native-born element has long since declined to compete in the struggle for perpetuation with the foreign-born, who multiply with less regard for the worldly future of their children; and the stock which, when it had the field to itself, used to double its numbers every twenty-five years, has averaged in Massachusetts, during the past half century, only 2.3 births per marriage, a rate insufficient to keep up even its absolute numbers.¹ In the West conditions are better, but the tendency to deferred marriage and restricted birth-rates appears to be setting in among the present generation.² In any case, these tendencies will, in all probability, operate as they have in central and southern Europe, if our present Nordic population is so unwise as to open the way, through failure further to restrict immigration, for competition on a large scale from inferior race stock. We cannot, for obvious reasons, legislate directly against the undesirable nationalities among the immigrants, but because of the low state of education prevailing among them, we can greatly limit their numbers by an educational test. By such action we should indirectly encourage a renewal of migration to the United States from the northwest of Europe.

The expansion of the Nordic race has populated North America to the Mexican line, Australia, New Zealand, parts of South Africa—an immense domain most of which is climatically suited to the requirements of the race. It may yet secure Argentina and southern Brazil, and perhaps through the emigration thither of the Nordid stock among the Russians, a good share of Siberia.

¹ Report of the Massachusetts State Board of Health for 1896, pp. 732, 733.

² The conclusion that, in advanced civilization, "society dies at the top," or, at least, that the most ambitious, highly individualized, successful, or upper-class elements do not hold their own, biologically, in the population, but require constant replenishment from below, results from a large number of statistical or sociological studies, among others, by Jacoby, Spenser, Dumont, Drs. Schallmayer, Haycraft, Hansen, Brinton, Billings, Abbott, Longstaff, Ogle, Edson, Lapouge, Ammon, Wadlin, Goodell, Fiske, Merritt, Miss Collett, Miss Bromwell, and, as interpreted by Karl Pearson, Rubin, and Westergaard. It is, however, greatly to be desired that the matter should be studied from a broader statistical foundation.

But the tropics mark the extreme habitat of the race. Fashioned by a long process of selection in and for the temperate zone, it may perhaps dominate the rich lands of the vertical sun, but it cannot populate them. Only by constant replenishment from the home population can it keep up even the necessary number of soldiers, officers and higher directors of tropical industry: so far as concerns its permanent habitat, it is the race of the temperate zones. This climatic limitation is a potent reason why it should seek to hold the lands that are its natural heritage for the use of its children and its children's children.

The brachycephalics appear to fare somewhat better in the hot countries, and the Mediterranean race naturally the best of the three. If any of the nationalities of Europe populate the tropics, it will be the Italians and the Spanish including the Spanish Americans. It would be desirable if the present and great prospective emigration from Italy could be diverted from the United States where it means a deterioration of the population, to the West Indies, Mexico, Central America, Brazil, etc., where it would mean a substantial improvement. In so far as the Monroe doctrine, preventing the extension of European influence in tropical America, tends indirectly to discourage the movement thither of migration from the south of Europe it is anthropologically a mistake.

The Asiatics are likely to begin before long an expansion on an immense scale. The Japanese have shown themselves an extremely able race. They are capable of assimilating the higher civilization with astonishing rapidity, and they may be capable of contributing new elements of real value. Still the very fact that they are able to thrive on a meager standard of subsistence and comfort, would make their extensive entry into the regions appropriated by the European a great misfortune. It would hasten materially the elimination of the best elements of the present population and particularly of the Nordic stock. It is, moreover, not probable that interbreeding between races so diverse as the European and the Japanese would give happy results. As the Japanese appear to thrive in the tropics or

at least in the semi-tropics, it is greatly to be desired that their prospective expansion should be diverted to the regions not suited to the colonization of the Europeans or at least of the Nordic stock. It is better that they supplant the native races than that they supplant our own. It is possible that the United States will have to devise some way of restricting the prospective immigration of the Japanese, in spite of treaty rights rather hastily accorded them. If it were conceivable that we were reduced to such an alternative, we might far better give them the Philippines minus a naval station, rather than allow them to overrun our home territory.

The population of India, in spite of its overcrowded condition, seems not to have the initiative to undertake extensive migration, even to escape famine. This lack of initiative will continue perhaps as long as the people believe all misfortunes the will of Allah which it is useless to resist. If they had the disposition, they might populate much of the tropical belt particularly in Africa.

The Chinese are probably destined to be the great colonizers of the tropics. Once their national exclusiveness is broken down, their enormous fecundity will force them to expand. The Chinese have long been subjected in comparative isolation to a double selective process which in football parlance has "played both ends against the middle" with results disastrous to both ends, thus gradually producing an immense preponderance of mediocrity. On the one hand, all pioneering or innovating spirits have been eliminated by a social and political system which tolerates only the man of servile and routine mind. At the other extreme the natural loafer and weakling has been unable to survive and propagate as easily as with us. The result is a population uniformly hardy and industrious, but uniformly devoid of the faculty of initiating progress, a hopeless mediocrity of 400 million, without the presence of men of pioneering genius and high talent such as leaven the masses among the Europeans. The indigenous, negroid and half-breed population of the tropical lands which the Chinese, if unrestrained, are likely to

overflow, are for the most part fully as mediocre; and, at least as regards economic and industrial capacity, the average of their mediocrity is probably two grades lower in the ability scale.¹ The curves representing the number of men of each grade of human ability among one million Englishmen, one million Chinese and one million of the common people of Brazil would stand related somewhat as the figures in the diagram on the opposite page.

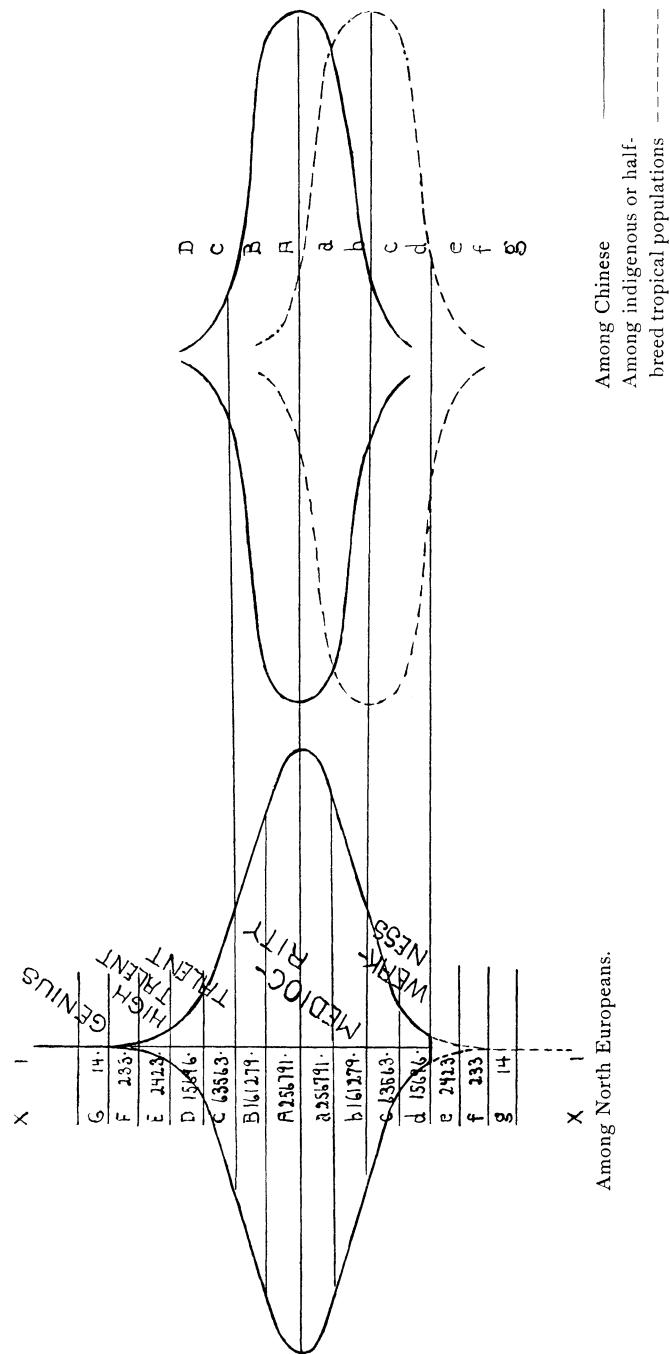
According as we might take chiefly into account first one and then another of the various kinds of ability needed for the different occupations—agriculture, hand industry, factory labor, the management of complicated machinery, artistic production, business, commerce, and lastly invention—the relative position of these three curves would have to be altered by raising or lowering by a grade or so the curve representing one or another of the contrasted ethnic elements. In constructing the diagram consideration has been given to these various points of view, and also to the important consideration of the ability to thrive, multiply, and do a large amount of efficient work, with only poor or inexpensive food, clothing and lodging. It is this last consideration especially that places the economic ability curve of the Chinese so high, and makes them such formidable competitors when, as for example in California, they come into direct comparison with the more mediocre or unskilled labor even among the whites.

If economic and natural conditions were as supreme in human affairs as some writers would have us imagine, this expansion of the Chinese, at least through much of the sparsely settled region of the tropics, would be at once inevitable and desirable.

Two influences, neither of them economic and neither of them a matter of environment, both of them social, political, or military, may prevent the seemingly inevitable denouement or, from the point of view of the present inhabitants of the countries

¹ For an explanation of Galton's ability scale and ability curve, see "Some Social Applications of the Doctrine of Probability" in this JOURNAL, March, 1899.

FREQUENCY OF DIFFERENT GRADES OF ECONOMIC ABILITY.



in question, catastrophe. One is the self-willed isolation of the Chinese, their attachment to their native land, their contempt of other civilization. This sentiment appears, however, to be on the point of breaking down, and would in any case apply only in slight degree to the prospective wholesale migration with which the civilization could be taken along as baggage and set up in the new country. The second and perhaps decisive factor is likely to be the increasing control exercised over the tropics by the nations within the circle of western civilization, and more particularly by the Nordic nationalities.

Judged by economic standards alone, it would clearly be to the interest of the Nordic race to permit or even encourage the expansion of the Chinese in the tropics. As between the active expansive races, there would seem to be a sort of natural, and economically highly desirable, climatic division of labor—the tropics for the Chinese, the temperate zone for the Nordics and other Europeans, the intermediate or semi-tropic regions for the Japanese and the Mediterraneans.

If the tropical climate forbids the Nordics from farming the farm, it is not so clear that it would prevent them from the more profitable occupation of farming the farmer. With their inventiveness, their foresight, their superabundant energy and capital, they will naturally take the part of investors, entrepreneurs, and leaders in tropical industry, mainly from a climatically safe distance. Tropical industry will thus become less easy-going and wasteful, and vastly more remunerative. When the valley of the Amazon is controlled financially from the banks of the Hudson—a stream the total navigable length of which would hardly reach across the mouth of the South American river—a supply of mahogany equal to the world's present consumption will no longer drift aimlessly out to sea. For this desirable exploitation of the tropics the Asiatics would be the ideal helpers, they would be highly efficient not only as common laborers, but as overseers and even as local executive agents in carrying out projects conceived and financed in Europe and the United States. Their presence would conduce to the economic benefit

of everybody, unless perhaps the native displaced labor. The world's wealth would be immensely increased.

The only serious ground for opposing such a program is the danger of future domination of the world by a Pan-Chinese alliance. Once established amid the vast resources of the tropics, the Coolie population would probably double about every twenty years, and the yellow peril prophesied by various Casandrae—some of whom, like, for example, Sir Robert Hart, no one will accuse of hysteria—would begin to loom up with vastly greater proportions than as at present discerned. But Casandra has usually been only a minority leader among the Nordics, and the race which dominates world politics will probably decide to allow and even encourage the prospective Chinese expansion through the tropics. If so, there is a double reason why it should seek to retain, preferably for its own descendants and as a second choice for the most closely allied races, its neighbors and partners in European culture, the parts of the earth—after all geographically rather limited—which are climatically suitable for its habitat and are not already too much preoccupied. To this end the growth of a spirit of friendship and even of active co-operation between the various nationalities composed of or dominated by this race is greatly to be desired. A healthy rivalry will continue between the Nordic nations, but if wise councils prevail, it will continue a friendly rivalry. A Nordic alliance, or at least understanding, will develop with the growing consciousness that race is a stronger bond of union than language or political forms. It will be an understanding to keep the peace in a large sense, to police the world in the interest of order, free commerce, and civilization. An Anglo-German understanding is already avowed; and an Anglo-American understanding would doubtless be avowed except for political reasons. These as yet inchoate "understandings" may be regarded as the prelude to a somewhat broader alliance which should include the other Nordic nationalities of northwestern Europe. These nationalities should adopt arbitration among themselves and so far as possible with other nations, particularly those of Europe, for the

higher stocks are too precious to be wasted in warfare which usually tends, if prolonged and severe, to the elimination of the courageous and physically perfect alike among victors and vanquished, and the recruitment of both populations from the inferior elements. No one of these Nordic nations should seek to obstruct colonization by any of the others. The United States is perhaps the worst sinner in this regard ; and already we hear talk that our next war will be with Germany apropos of the latter's possible designs in the more temperate portion of Brazil. Such a war would be a terrible catastrophe for the higher interests of humanity, and would besides be utterly foolish, for German colonization, and if necessary control, of the territory in question would be not an injury but a benefit.

The interests of the Nordic race, and so in a sense the higher interests of civilization, would seem to favor not only the policy of the expansion of the stock throughout the temperate regions not already preoccupied, not only a policy of co-operation between the Nordic nationalities, not only a careful sifting of immigrants to the less densely populated Nordic countries like the United States, with an exclusion of the less desirable elements, but also the adoption of measures which would have to be worked out tentatively and experimentally, for the selective improvement of the population within each group. The moral consciousness of civilized communities as regards the subject of selection is evidently in a state of transition. It is no longer content to allow the free play of unguided, or what may be in a sense called natural, selection. It is not, indeed, disturbed by the elimination of the most highly individualized elements, for this is a painless and almost unnoticed process, and, as already explained, is not accompanied by any lack of worldly success. It is rather shocked and disquieted, in a degree in which it has not been in the past, by the tragedies and suffering that accompany the elimination of the vicious, the defective, and the degenerate—the waste products which seem to become more numerous with the advance of civilization.¹ It seeks to reform

¹ F. H. GIDDINGS, *The Ethics of Social Progress*.

and thus to retain in society as probable procreators of the next generation elements which, in view of the laws of heredity, it might better assist nature to eliminate.¹ On the other hand, the moral consciousness of the community at large is as yet hardly ready for that more far-sighted philanthropy which would seek to increase human well-being by the prevention of the propagation of those elements which do most to destroy it. The selectivist ideal is, however, gaining ground in recent years, especially in medical and scientific circles; advocated in various forms by such writers as Spurzheim, Galton, Lapouge, Dugdale, McCulloch, Stanley, Bradley, and Haycraft, it has been sanctioned by men of great influence in active life such as Warner in practical charity organization, Jordan in education, and Andrew Carnegie, eminent alike in business and philanthropy, and it finds already tentative expression in the laws of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Colorado, and Texas. The physiological knowledge which is already so widely utilized in controlling the birth-rate of the more intelligent classes, in conjunction with some such benevolent quasi-voluntary segregation of the members especially of the urban communities who now manage to exist only in a state of semi-vagrancy, as advocated on purely economic as well as sociological grounds by Charles Booth, as the result of his exhaustive statistical investigations, would seem to offer a method at once feasible and humane of eliminating the family strains that bring only evil to themselves and to the rest of society.²

The selectivist program would need to be applied not only thus negatively by the elimination of the human wreckage of our civilization, but positively by the encouragement of the increase of the elements that combine mental ability with at least the requisite degree of physical vigor. To this end the service that legislation could perform would be mainly indirect; its most obvious function as regards countries like the United States is, as

¹ For a powerful but somewhat overdrawn argument for the elimination of degenerates, etc.; see W. D. MCKIM, *Heredity and Human Progress* (New York), 1900.

² Hence the severer measures advocated, for example, by Dr. McKim, appear unnecessary, except in the case of persons guilty of serious crimes.

suggested in another connection, to prevent the immigration of other race stock which by multiplying on an inferior standard of life, will check the natural increase of our present population. To insure a permanent supply of reserve talent from which to compensate for the continual usure of the most highly individualized callings, the mass of the population should be of the same race. Witness the different results of social capillarity in England, where it can draw from almost the whole population, and in France, where it has about consumed the élite racial element. No notion could be more short-sighted than the one which prevails widely among the cultivated classes in this country, and finds frequent expression even in such intelligent periodicals as the *Outlook*, that the immigration of low grade labor is needed for the rougher or commoner work of our society, and that it is advantageous to the native element to have this work taken off its hands. The ideal of a native or Nordic aristocracy of labor resting on a continued importation of lower grade labor gains whatever seductivity it possesses from a merely economic conception of the problems involved. Biologically, such an ideal carried wholesale and consistently into practice means the beginning of a process of gradual racial suicide, as already exemplified by the native-born element in Massachusetts.

Granted the restriction of immigration, which is the most obvious of the legal methods available, the positive selective improvement of the Nordic population would have to depend not so much, if at all, on legislation, as on voluntary conduct, and so upon the wider knowledge of heredity, and the spread of the selectivist ideal, and perhaps most of all upon a change in the prevailing group-judgments as to what constitutes success, distinction, or excellence. Mr. Veblen has shown¹, in illuminative detail, how largely the struggle for success is a struggle not for anything economically essential to the life process of society, but for emulative or honorific distinction, or for mere conspicuousness. Achievement is valued less for the sake of the end achieved than for its ornamental trappings, which impress the

¹The *Theory of the Leisure Class*.

less successful. Hence the deification in our alleged esthetic "creations" of the gewgaw and the jig saw. But all this ostentation is not only, as Mr. Veblen shows, magnificently wasteful in an economic sense, it is also highly destructive from a biological or selectivist point of view. It is part and parcel of that whole artificial and ultra-civilized standard of living that is the main factor in eliminating the more ambitious and capable families which furnish the material for the highly individualized callings. It is particularly severe on the members of the liberal technological and business professions, who usually with mediocre incomes have to conform to a rather pretentious standard of living. The main remedy, then, would seem to lie in the substitution, for the honorific and pecuniary view of success, of the biological conception which lays stress on family permanence and achievement rather than on individual ostentation. If family stability and increase were fully recognized as an essential factor of the standard of success, our ambitious classes would, perhaps, compete therefor almost as strenuously as they now do for professional distinction, economic mastery, or social conspicuousness. Instead of the usure, we should have the increase of the abler elements in the community.

To the selectivist ideal as thus outlined are opposed two very widespread conceptions which may be characterized respectively as the plutocratic, and the sentimental. One is, in the words of an advocate, the ideal "of [some] business men looking purely at business conditions," it is the notion of obtaining labor at the lowest cost, or of settling up the country with the greatest celerity, it is the attitude, for example, of some of the western railroad magnates as regards Chinese immigration, it is the policy that in an earlier day brought the negro from Africa, it finds, perhaps, its most general formulation in the statement already quoted from Novicow, that "the infiltration of inferior races is not an evil but a benefit." Fortunately the American voter will not probably view the matter in just this light. Strangely similar in its practical bearing and in its myopic centering of attention upon the mere material well-being of the immediate present,

is the ultra-sentimental ideal which would make no distinction between different grades of human ability, individual or racial; which would admit the east Europeans or the Asiatics freely into the Nordic countries because it wants our ideas to spread among them, or because it regards all men as equal or as equally entitled to free choice of habitation; which would favor race intermixture as the solution of the negro problem because the negroes were wronged by capture and slavery; which forgets that its fine burst of generosity and catholicity would be at the expense biologically of elements more useful for humanity than those it would favor; which in another aspect of its influence would seek to do away with, instead of systematizing selection.¹

As compared with these other ideals that of the selectionist is not less practical, nor again, rightly understood, is it less humane. Peering somewhat further into the future, it sees that the Nordic race will need most of the temperate lands not already preoccupied, and that it should, at the very least, hold its present territory for its children against the immigration of race stock with lower standards of life, especially in view of the probable expansion of other races through the tropics. It looks hopefully not only to the increase but also to the selective improvement of the Nordic stock. It regards this ideal as sanctioned not only by a legitimate race patriotism, but also on the broader ground of human advancement.

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¹ It should be said that some of the biological sociologists, as for example, Spencer and Kidd, have given the idea that selection is essentially a fierce and cruel extermination of individuals through the economic struggle for existence, whereas in civilized society it is seldom anything of the sort. There is some elimination of individuals, not, however, by starvation, but by disease. For the most part, however, selection means the increase or decrease of certain family stocks, not so much from different degrees of hardship as from different standards of living, habits, ideals, etc. Thus, systematized selection would not treat with any less kindness the weak of the present generation, but would seek to lessen the proportion of the poorly endowed in the next generation.